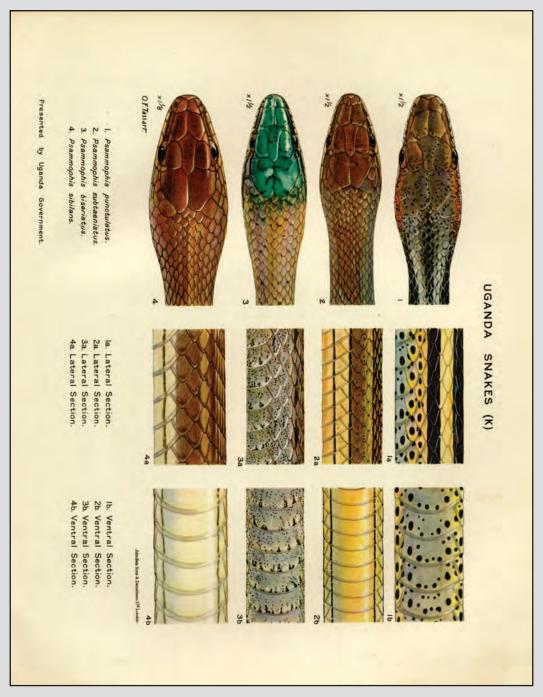
# International Society for the History and Bibliography of Herpetology





The **ISHBH** is a not-for-profit organization established to bring together individuals for whom the history and bibliography of herpetology is appealing and to promote the knowledge of related topics among members and the general public. Membership is open to anyone who shares the aims of the society.

Membership. The biennial fee for 2003-2004 is US \$30, Institutions US \$50 and Life Membership US \$300. This fee includes a subscription to the society's biannual Newsletter and Bulletin (members can obtain back issues for \$7.50 each). Payment can be made with a personal check or a money order in USD. Members worldwide can use Eurogiro or Swift to pay to our account No. 455120-6 with Postgirot Bank AB, Stockholm, Swift address PGSISESS, the equivalent amounts in any currency.

Members are encouraged to contribute with articles, news of meetings, hints on antiquarian trade, book reviews or participate in a literature exchange forum. The society organizes seminars, visits to libraries, museums, research stations, etc. in connection with herpetological meetings with international participation. The society works to facilitate informal contacts among members so that the members can meet, offer support in knowledge and transact exchanges of literature and ephemera.

**Formal application** for membership shall be directed to the chairperson and should be addressed: International Society for the History and Bibliography of Herpetology (ISHBH), Box 2123, SE-220 02 Lund, SWEDEN.

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#### Instructions for Authors

Authors submitting a manuscript do so on the understanding that the work has not been published before and is not being considered for publication elsewhere. All manuscripts are peer reviewed. Each issue of the Newsletter and Bulletin of the ISHBH is submitted to BIOSIS (U.K.) so that articles can be indexed for inclusion in the Zoological Record.

All manuscripts should be submitted in electronic form and preferably in Rich Text Format (\*.rtf). If the manuscript is sent as a text file it should be accom-panied by a hard copy to clarify formatting. We prefer to receive manuscripts as an e-mail attachment but manuscripts may also be sent by post on a 3 1/2 inch diskette. Include exact details on name(s) of the author(s) and file(s) submitted (diskettes should be labeled with this information), as well as contact information. The language of the Newsletter and Bulletin is English. British English or American English spelling and terminology may be used, but either one should be used consistently throughout the article. Consult the latest issue of the Newsletter and Bulletin for article format. The Editor reserves the right to adjust style to maintain uniformity.

Illustrations should also be submitted in electronic form. Considering the often delicate nature of illustrations in antiquarian books we feel that it is best that the owner of the work makes arrangements for scanning. However, you should contact the Editor first for advice. Color illustrations can be included but incur extra costs which will be at the author's expense. Illustration files can be sent on a CD-ROM, 100 Mb Zip cartridge, a 3 1/2 inch diskette or transferred over the Internet (contact the Editor first). Hard copies may in certain cases be submitted to the Editor for scanning but the Editor must be contacted first. The ISHBH cannot take responsibility for material sent by post.

**About the Cover:** Plate K from Charles R.S. Pitman's *A Guide to the Snakes of Uganda* (1938). This plate, drawn by Miss O. F. Tassart, is typical for this work and illustrates four species of the colubrid genus *Psammophis*. See article on p. 5 by Kraig Adler.

#### **Society News**

#### Message from the Chairperson

Fourteen members including all officers had listened to the call for the annual business meeting and assembled on 5th of July at noon in Kansas City, Missouri, USA. It was held in conjunction with the week-long herpetological joint meetings of the three large North American-based herpetological societies. The Treasurer's report for 2001 that had been distributed to all members earlier was approved at the meeting. The five sitting members of the board were nominated and then were reelected for the period 2002 and 2003. The meeting was adjourned at around 1 p.m. Following the meeting and lunch the assembly continued on a members' tour to the Linda Hall Library of Science, Engineering, and Technology. The members and guests had been invited for a prearranged study tour to this impressive privately funded library. Mr. Bruce Bradley, Librarian for History of Science and Special Operations, welcomed the group at the grandiose entrance to the library building, which is located in the middle of its 15-acre parklike property. The Linda Hall library is one of the world's leading collections of science, engineering, and technology. It holds more than one million volumes, from the 15th century to the present. Emphasis has been made on historical collections through fifty years of careful acquisitions.

Mr. Bradley and staff had, in preparation for our visit, made a special literature search to identify their collection of notable literature of all ages with herpetological significance. The staff had put on open display not only books that focus on herpetology alone but also numerous general natural history books in which herpetology forms important parts. The relevant sections had been marked with slips of paper for easy browsing. Books for which the title does not indicate the herpetological contents are otherwise so easily overlooked. Mr. Bradley in his talk introduced the audience of the library and its history as well as some of the books he had laid out. The Linda Hall Library had also prepared a leaflet of the books on display including about 30 titles, most from the 17th and 18th century but also a

few from the 19th century. Of the very early books with substantial sections on herpetology were several editions of Konrad Gesner's midsixteenth century work, Historia animalium, including a scarce German abridgement with hand-colored woodcuts that is titled Thierbuch (1563.) Other encyclopaedias of similar kind that followed Gesner are also represented in the collection, for example: Ulisse Aldrovandi (1640) Serpentum, et draconum historiae libri duo, Joannes Jonstonus (1652) Libri III. De serpentibus et draconib. The original massive folio by Albert Seba (1734-1765) Locupletissimi rerum naturalium thesauri accurata descrptio, et iconibus artificiosissimis expressio had been described in the latest Newsletter & Bulletin, volume 3(2), by Aaron Bauer and it attracted naturally special interest. Extraordinarily impressive was of course also the two-volume set by Mark Catesby (London 1754) The natural history of Carolina, Florida & the Bahama Islands. We all thank the Linda Hall Library staff and especially Mr. Bradley for their great gesture in exhibiting the library for us.

Of all the papers published in the *Newsletter* and *Bulletin* since it was first published in 1999 describing a publication or an individual all have had a focus either on the 19<sup>th</sup> century or, in fact most of them, on the 18<sup>th</sup> century. This was when the booming era of natural sciences just started. During that time Linnaeus laid the foundation of a nomenclatural arrangement with the common acceptance of his system in the 10<sup>th</sup> edition of *Systema naturae* published in 1758, a year that eventually became a turning point for publications treating taxonomical issues.

With this stream of papers in a rather restricted center of attention there is an apparent exposure that can give the readers the misconception that this is all that the "history of herpetology" is about. However, many of the publications produced during the first half of the 20th century remain the best references to this day or, at least, have become classical when the general scientific knowledge at the time is taken into

account. The publishing history is in many cases obscure and, thus, citations become vague or erroneous in the literature or when they are listed in antiquarian book catalogues.

I will mention an example: F. W. FitzSimons's classical and quite common book The Snakes of South Africa, their Venom and the Treatment of Snake-Bite. The book came in different editions and the years of publication, 1910, 1912 and 1919 are indicated only in the forewords. The numbers of editions have been an issue of confusion and all three are commonly listed as "first edition" when booksellers advertise them. This is also the case if you look at the Internet book search engines today. The edition of 1912 in fact came in two versions, one marked as a "New edition". The Catalogue of the Library of the British Museum (Natural History) Vol. VI (1922) lists this "New edition" and clarifies "The first edition appeared earlier in the same year." The remark in this important bibliography could of course be the very reason for the mix-up. While the 1910 edition has a mere 160 pages the 1912 editions have 547 pages (excluding preliminaries). FitzSimons, in a 2-page long Note says in the 1912 edition "The first edition of this book was hurriedly written up from my notes, at a time when I was busy also with many departments of other work, and for that reason I crave the indulgence of critics for a necessarily immature product." Thus, it was FitzSimons's clear connotation that the book of 1912 was a reworked edition. The 1919 edition is quite similar to the 1912 but it has been somewhat revised and contains a few more pages (550). Only in some of the printed copies from 1919 is it shown on the title page that it is the 3<sup>rd</sup> edition while other copies are silent in this respect, leading you to erroneous deduction that these are "first edition" books. Each edition has furthermore come in variations of colors of the cloth or linen covers and at least the 1910 edition also occurs with illustrated boards.

But there is another classic from the mid 20<sup>th</sup> century with an even more exciting printing history, namely Charles R. S. Pitman's *A Guide* 

to the Snakes of Uganda. The variations of the editions have bewildered the book collectors since the time of their publications and even more so after a brief comment by the author regarding edition size in the preface to the 1974 revised edition. Not so any longer. Kraig Adler has scrutinized the publishing background and can in this issue for the first time unveil the facts. But the history of herpetology is not restricted to its bibliography but can also refer to institutions, specimen collections and even wartime activities. Piotr Daszkiewicz and Aaron M. Bauer report on and discuss the transfer of a replacement collection in Europe and a rediscovery of a herpetological collection of significance.

The 12th Ordinary General Meeting of Societas Europaea Herpetologica will be held in St. Petersburg, Russia, on 12 to 16 August 2003 (for information on registering contact Dr. Natalia Ananjeva, 12SEH@zin.ru). A "history" session has been planned but it will take some time before we know if there will be sufficient responses from the speakers. An ISHBH congress with a theme "Linnaeus and the Amphibia" in Sweden is nevertheless being planned to coincide with the SEH meeting. This congress will have Lund as a meeting point, tentatively from 8 to 11 August, in order for international participants on their way to the SEH meeting to make a stop (Copenhagen airport). Several fine public and private libraries will be visited and a countryside tour will include a stop at the Linnaeus birthplace, now a museum. More information will follow and members are advised to watch the ISHBH web site for further information or inquire with the chairperson by e-mail.

Renewal of the membership period 2003-2004 can now take place. The regular fee for two years remains US\$30, but institutions pay US\$50 and there is no longer a special rate for students. The Newsletter and Bulletin is included with four issues starting from volume 5.

Lund 2003-03-03, **Richard Wahlgren** 

## The Publishing History of Pitman's "Snakes of Uganda"

Kraig Adler Cornell University, Department of Neurobiology and Behavior Mudd Hall, Ithaca, NY 14853–2702, USA

itman's A Guide to the Snakes of Uganda, published in Kampala, Uganda, in 1938, is one of the most celebrated books in herpetology. Even after 65 years, it remains the most comprehensive guide to the snakes of any country in East Africa. It is more detailed in its coverage than any other work published on the subject, before or since. The 23 colored plates are reminiscent of some of the great illustrated natural history works of the 19th century (see front cover and Figs. 1, 3, 4 & 5). But surely its celebrity is also due to the fact that, of the 500 individually numbered copies produced, nearly half were destroyed in London in 1941 as the result of German bombing. Consequently, Pitman's book is one of the rarest herpetological books published in the last 100 years and is therefore highly sought after by serious collectors.

It is not so well known, however, that Pitman's original book was published in three versions: a "journal version" during 1935–1938, a "numbered book version" in 1938, and an "unnumbered book version" in 1946. The correspondence among these three versions has not been well understood and the actual year of publication of the unnumbered book version has not been previously recorded. A revised edition appeared in 1974.

#### The Author

Charles Robert Senhouse Pitman (1890–1975; Fig. 2) began his formal herpetological work in India in 1913. He served in the British Army there and in the Middle East until he resigned in 1921 to farm in western Kenya (Adler 1989). From 1925 to 1950 he was the Game Warden of Uganda Protectorate, except for brief service in Northern Rhodesia (now Zambia) in 1931–1932

and when seconded for military intelligence duty in Uganda during the war (1941–1946). During his work as game warden, Pitman actively accumulated data on Ugandan snakes, based on his own observations and information submitted by his wide circle of correspondents and friends. By early 1935 he was ready to begin publication.

#### The Journal Version

The first version of Pitman's "Snakes" was published in serial form in 11 installments in The Uganda Journal (hereafter UJ). Publication began with volume 3, number 1 of the journal in July 1935 and installments appeared in consecutive issues of the journal until the last appeared in *UJ* 5(3) in January 1938 (Table 1). The 23 colored plates were drawn by artists, both of them women, at the British Museum (Nat. Hist.) (now the Natural History Museum) in London, based on actual specimens in the museum (plates A, D, E, G, I, L, N, P, Q, S, T, and W by Dorothy Fitchew, all of the others by O. F. Tassart). Printing of the journal was done by the Uganda Printing and Publishing Company, Ltd., printers of The Uganda Herald (now defunct). In those days, there were no linotypes or other modern printing machines in commercial use in Uganda, thus the type was set by hand by native compositors, under the supervision of an old Scotsman named "Valentine" (R. S. Shackell in litt. to R. W. Sabbot, 16 July 1970).

The colored plates, however, were printed in London by John Bale, Sons & Danielsson, Ltd. (plates A–M), later on by John Bale, Sons & Curnow, Ltd. (N–W). The high costs of these plates were underwritten by the Uganda Government, the Uganda Society, and by various friends of the author. Colored plates were inserted into the journal issues as received from

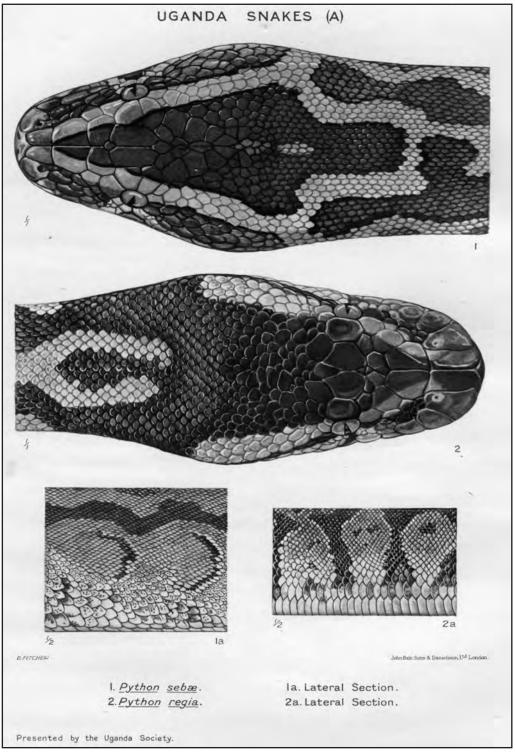


Fig. 1. Plate A from Pitman's "Snakes of Uganda" (1938). Drawings by Dorothy Fitchew.

London, although on one occasion (plates A, B) these were not received in time for the relevant installment.

The trim dimensions of *UJ* are variable and even copies bound by the publisher are known to range in size from 16.2 x 20.8 cm to 18.4 x 23.1 cm. The journal was issued in two versions: individual issues to be bound to taste by purchasers and in cloth-covered volumes bound by the Uganda Printing and Publishing Company, Ltd.

*UJ* 3(1): vi, July 1935, first announces Pitman's series, starting in the same number, and states that there will be five [sic] installments. *UJ* 5(2): vi-vii, October 1937, notes the intention to re-issue Pitman's guide "in book form in a limited edition early in 1938." *UJ* 5(3): iii, January 1938, states that it was necessary to produce a larger issue of the *UJ* in order to accommodate the final (and largest) installment of Pitman's series.

#### The Numbered Book Version

Prior to the publication of Part I, it was decided to issue a book version of Pitman's "Snakes." Accordingly, as each number of *UJ* was printed an additional run of more than 500 copies of Pitman's section was printed, with care taken to re-number the pages consecutively and to remove any extraneous matter from the beginning and ending pages. These were then stored until all 11 installments were published, after which the reprinted sections were assembled into books, with the title page, preliminaries, appendices, and indices added (R. S. Shackell *in* 

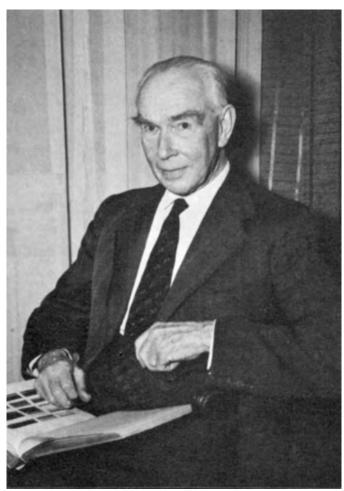


Fig. 2. Captain Charles R. S. Pitman, author of "Snakes of Uganda," with a copy of the numbered, blue-covered version of the book on his lap (from Kinloch 1972).

*litt.* to R. W. Sabbot, 16 July 1970). The books were bound in cloth with an imitation leather surface, a cloth often called "rexine" (spine and corners only, thus "halfbound," as advertised in the *UJ*) and cloth covers with a smooth, linen surface, all in dark blue. A small slip was pasted to the top outer edge of the front flyleaf, stating "This edition is limited to five hundred copies of which this is number —." The page trim dimensions of this version measure 17.6 x 23.3 cm.

A few minor differences exist between the journal and book versions. Information printed in the journal that is extraneous to "Snakes of Uganda" is removed in the book version and

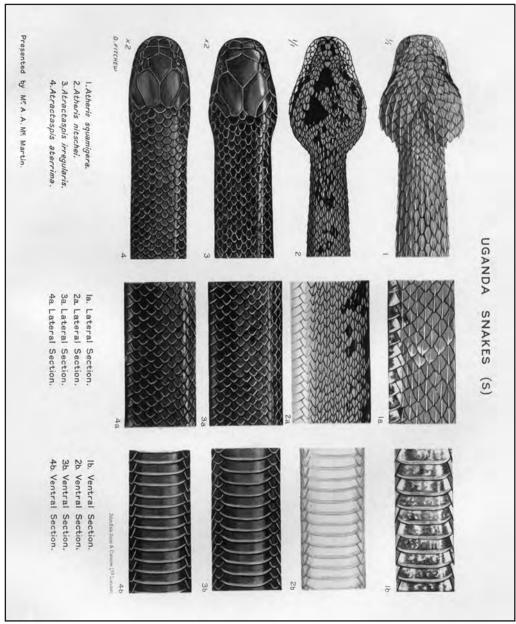


Fig. 3. Plate S from Pitman's "Snakes of Uganda" (1938), showing the typical layout: head, neck, and midbody (both side and ventral views). Drawings by Dorothy Fitchew.

the article titles in the journal versions (for example, "A Guide to the Snakes of Uganda. Part II. By C. R. S. Pitman") are changed to simple chapter headings in the book ("Part II."). Journal pagination is re-numbered consecutively in the book; this causes changes in signature content

and signature marks. The line "(To be Continued.)" at the end of each journal article has, of course, been removed in the book version. In general, there is a one-to-one correspondence between contents of the journal parts and the book chapters with the same numbers, with

#### THE PUBLISHING HISTORY OF PITMAN'S "SNAKES OF UGANDA"

**Table 1.** Correspondence of the journal and book versions of Pitman's "A Guide to the Snakes of Uganda." The book version has added preliminaries, appendices, and indices.

Part	Uganda Journal	Date on issue	Pages	Uncolored plates <sup>1</sup>	Colored plates	Other	Book version
	_	_	_	_	_	_	Halftitle page, color pl. A, title page, i–xxi, diagrams I, II.
1	vol. 3, no. 1	July 1935	47–78	_	_	figs. 1, 2 (maps)	(1)-32, figs. 1, 2 (maps).
II	vol. 3, no. 2	October 1935	130-148	I, II	_	_	33-(52), pls. I, II, color pl. U.
Ш	vol. 3, no. 3	January 1936	211–229	III	_	note (p. 211) <sup>2</sup>	52-(71), pl. III, color pl. B.
IV	vol. 3, no. 4	April 1936	259-281	IV, V	A–D	_	72-(95), pls. IV, V, color pls. C-E.
V	vol. 4, no. 1	July 1936	41–64	VI, VII	E-G	_	96-119, pls. VI, VII, color pls. F-H.
VI	vol. 4, no. 2	October 1936	126-150	VIII–X	_	_	120-144, pls. VIII-X, color pl. I.
VII	vol. 4, no. 3	January 1937	220-246	XI, XII	H–K	_	145-171, pl. XI, color pls. J-L.
VIII	vol. 4, no. 4	May 1937	319–349	XIII	L, M	_	172–(203), pls. XII, XIII, color pls. M, N.
IX	vol. 5, no. 1	July 1937	27-45	XIV	_	_	205 <sup>3</sup> –226 <sup>4</sup> , color pl. O.
Χ	vol. 5, no. 2	October 1937	93-129	_	N-Q	errata (p. 96)⁵	227-257, pl. XIV, color pls. P, Q.
XI	vol. 5, no. 3	January 1938	160–2446	XV–XVIII	R–W	diagrams I, II	258 <sup>7</sup> –338, pls. XV–XVIII, color pls. R–T, V, W.
_	_	_	_	_	_	_	339-362 (appendices, indices).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> These plates are titled "Uganda Snakes."

one major exception. From part X in *UJ* (pages 93–129), the first 3-1/2 pages (to "Naja Goldil Boulenger" on page 96) were added to the end of book chapter IX (pages 223–226), thus causing a half-page shift in page content throughout the entire chapter. In addition, the last 2-1/2 pages of journal part X (from "Genus Bitis Gray" on page 127) were moved to the beginning of book chapter XI (page 258). Two sections in journal part XI ("Revised Systematic List" and "Criticisms of Coloured Plates") were moved to the preliminary pages (xv–xvii) and viii–xi, respectively, in the book version.

The numbered versions of the book were apparently issued late in 1938. The preface is undated, but on page 340, in one of the appendices, a specimen record added "at the time of going to press of the completed volume" is dated 2 May 1938; this seems to be the latest date printed in the book itself. I have in my possession a presentation copy of Pitman's book, copy number 7, given to W. J. Eggeling (acknowledged in the preface, page xxi, for sending collections of snakes to Pitman); this copy is signed and dated in Pitman's own hand: 2 December 1938. Just prior to publication of the book, circulars

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Slip announcing that colored plates A and B had not yet arrived from England.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Book page 204 was omitted in order to correct for an error made in chapter 3 where page 53 was misnumbered 52, thus causing a shift of odd-numbered pages to the left side of the opened book through page 203.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> The last 3-1/2 pages of part IX in the book version, i.e., from the third paragraph on page 223, were at the beginning of part X in the journal version.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> The correction was made in the book version, hence the errata slip was omitted from the book.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> The "Revised Systematic List" (pages 221–223) and "Criticisms of Colored Plates" (pages 223–226) were moved to the preliminaries (pages viii–xi and xv–xvii, respectively) in the book version.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> The first two pages of part XI in the book version, i.e., to the bottom of page 259, were at the end of part X in the journal version.

were printed and distributed to likely purchasers around the world; I have not seen a copy of this circular.

The first ad for the numbered book version published in UJ is printed on the inside front cover of UJ7(4), April 1940. (It is odd that the Uganda Society waited more than one year after publication of the book to advertise the book's availability in the journal, but perhaps the circulars mentioned above were inserted loosely in previous issues.) This full-page ad states that the edition is limited to 500 numbered copies, at a price of 30 shillings. Previously, in UJ 7(2): [vi], October 1939, an announcement states that "Reviews of 'Guide' continue to appear in the scientific and medical periodicals." A copy was noted as received by the editorial offices of Nature magazine in the Nature supplement for 25 March 1939. A review appeared in the 22 July 1939 issue of Herpetologica. In UJ8(1): 44, September 1940, a note states that 172 copies have been "disposed of," but says that this figure does not include sales by "London agents, details of which have not been received." Previously, "the balance of 236 copies [presumably numbers 265-500] was sent to the well known publishing house of Simpkin, Marshall and Co. of London" (R. S. Shackell in litt. to R. W. Sabbot, 16 July 1970). UJ 9(1): [iv], September 1941, notes that "stocks of . . . 'Snakes of Uganda' held in London have been wiped out in the air raids . . . losses can be made good from the stocks which we hold [in Uganda]." According to pages vii and x in Pitman's revised edition (1974), the printing blocks for the color plates were also destroyed in London by enemy action in 1941, presumably the same air raids that destroyed many or all unsold copies of the book.

I have attempted to trace existing copies of the numbered book version to confirm the copies sold from Uganda and those sold from London. I have located 14 copies, numbered from 7 to 274; within this range the numbers are spread out widely. Only one number (274) is within the range that I interpret (above) as having been in the lot of books sold by the London agents; it was

once in the library of a senior British naturalist (Bartholomew 2002). It is hypothesized that most or all of the books numbered above 274 were destroyed in the bombing of London, but I would appreciate hearing from readers knowing the whereabouts of any copies numbered above 274 and their previous ownership. The last ad for the numbered version to appear in *UJ* was published in *UJ* 9(2), May 1942, which offered copies at the original price of 30 shillings. Due to wartime conditions, the *UJ* was suspended until March 1946 so it is not known exactly when the last copies held in Uganda were sold and the numbered edition of the book went out of print.

#### The Unnumbered Book Version

If the above interpretation is correct, it would seem that somewhat less than 300 copies of the numbered books were actually distributed (fewer than what Pitman states in the preface to his revised edition of 1974, page vii, where he wrote "less than 450 copies distributed"). Once the European war ended in May 1945, however, the continuing demand for the book caused the Uganda Society to consider reissuing the book. Pitman returned to civilian status in 1946.

A three-line ad for Pitman's book was first published on the rear cover of UJ 10(1), March 1946. Unlike the earlier ads during 1940–1942, this one does not state that copies are numbered nor does it give any information on binding, thus implying that the copies offered were not the half-bound numbered version; the price is increased slightly to "32/50 shillings." This offering seems to correspond to copies that have been known on the antiquarian market as the "unnumbered" or "brown cloth" edition. It is bound in quarter-bound (not half-bound, as for the numbered version) light brown or light gray (oatmeal) cloth spines with grayish to greenish cloth-covered covers (colors vary slightly from copy to copy, perhaps simply due to differential fading); there are printed labels glued to the spine and the front cover. The trim dimensions are 17.8 x 22.3 cm (18.3 x 22.5 cm in a later copy), thus it is a bit shorter than the numbered

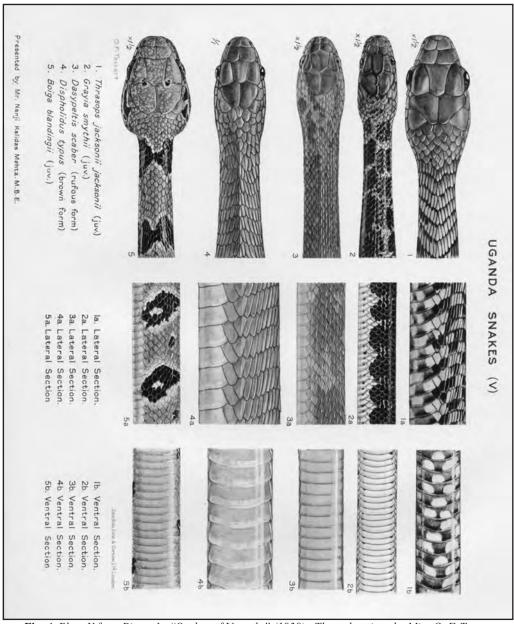


Fig. 4. Plate V from Pitman's "Snakes of Uganda" (1938). These drawings by Miss O. F. Tassart include two rather nondescript colubrids, the egg eating snake (3) and the boomslang (4).

version. It is not known how many copies were printed but they have been less common on the antiquarian market than the numbered copies have been over the last 40 years. Perhaps the reason these copies were not numbered is that the Uganda Society could not be certain exactly

which numbered books were lost in the London bombing and which ones survived.

I have examined eight copies of the unnumbered version. In general, they are identical in content to the numbered, blue-covered versions, including the fact that page 155 is misnumbered 145 and page 204 (see Table 1, footnote 3) is missing in both versions. However, there are a few discrepancies between some copies of the two versions. In several places (pages 31-32, 51-52, 120-121, 144-145, 172-173, 205-206, and 319-320), the entire page of type in the unnumbered version of the book has been re-set; in these cases, therefore, only the numbered version of the book is identical to the journal version. These discrepancies only occur in later copies, perhaps implying that the supply of some reprinted parts of the numbered version of the book were becoming exhausted and had to be reprinted again, thus introducing the changes.

The last ad for the unnumbered version to appear in UJ is on the rear cover of UJ 12(2), September 1948, thus it would seem likely that the unnumbered version went out of print sometime after that point in time. There is no ad in the next issue, UJ 13(1) for March 1949, suggesting that the book was already out of print. The reason may be partly indicated by a copy in my possession that is signed and dated by Pitman himself: 13 March 1948. What is interesting about this copy is that one of the sections (part III of Pitman's series) in the book had been removed from an issue of UJ, as is evident from the original journal pagination (pages "211–229"), the existence of extraneous matter on page 230, and even the presence of rusted staple holes from the original journal issue. Another copy of the unnumbered version with part III paginated out-of-sequence has been noted (Wahlgren 1999). It thus seems likely that, by early 1948, the publisher began to run out of the 500-plus sets of the reprintedand-repaginated signatures containing part III that were originally put aside for the book and began to substitute signatures from issues of the original journals, thus giving the books a rather unprofessional look. I infer that, by the fall of 1948, it was decided to let the book finally go out of print, once and for all.

#### The Revised Edition

Pitman produced a revised edition that was published in 1974 by Wheldon and Wesley, Ltd., the well-known natural history booksellers and publishers, then located near Codicote, in the countryside just north of London. The late Howard K. Swann served as editor (Adler 1994). The book includes all of the original 23 color plates (A–W) plus five new color plates (X–Z, AA, AB) drawn by Dorothy Fitchew, one of Pitman's original artists. In two instances (Z, AB), Fitchew collaborated together with another artist, Denys Ovenden. Since the original color printing blocks had been destroyed during the war, plates A-W were reproduced photographically from the printed copies; the quality of reproduction is excellent, although some detail has inevitably been lost; some colors have shifted slightly or the image is darker. All have been re-labeled and the taxonomy updated. One color plate (AC) of photographs of Python regius and three plates of uncolored photographs have been added. The text was entirely rewritten and, despite the addition of 15 species, condensed (Fig. 6).

The revised edition was published in the fall of 1974. An errata slip for plate Z is dated 26 September 1974; I received my copy in October 1974 by surface post direct from the publisher. The book is bound in red cloth; the trim dimensions are 18.3 x 24.6 cm.

#### Acknowledgments

I am grateful to Rudolph Wm. Sabbot for allowing me to quote from a letter to him by R. S. Shackell, former editor of *UJ*, which provided many details about the production of the numbered version of the book. Several colleagues sent useful information, including John Banks, Breck Bartholomew, Ronald Goeller, and

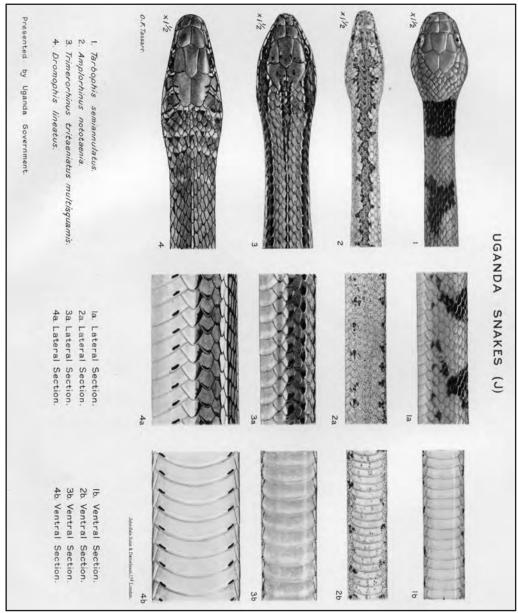


Fig. 5. Plate J from Pitman's "Snakes of Uganda" (1938). Additional drawings of colubrids by Miss O. F. Tassart.

Richard Wahlgren. I especially thank Thomas Sinclair for information on the *UJ* and copies of the numbered version of the book. I thank Aaron Bauer and Richard Wahlgren for reviews of my manuscript.

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Widespread belief amongst Africans - also Europeans - some snakes on ground and in bushes and trees, 'jump'. 'Jumping' from ground is illusion when over-vigorous strike of inflated serpent (as it explosively expels air), in particular night adder, Causus rhombeatus (Lichtenstein), actually throws whole body clear of ground to height nearly one foot. Other jumpers', arboreal species - boomslang, Dispholidus typus and Jameson's forest mamba, Dendroaspis jamesoni kaimosae, when moving rapidly amongst bushes and trees seemingly leap across gaps from branch to branch.

Certain snakes, especially Lycophidion spp., flatten body and (? supple) skull, vertebrae

and ribs to such extent enable pass through impossibly small crevices.

Resort to movement variety purposes, for instance python when disturbed on prey will imperceptibly relax anterior coil in order unexpectedly strike at intruder; will also unnoticeably relax coils to effect sudden withdrawal. Movement constrictors, large and small, to envelop prey, swiftly, powerfully executed - to seize and hold, and (pythons) asphyxiate.

Immobile for defence, characteristic many arboreal species and some cobras; those species simulating foliage or vines and twigs freeze to avoid detection, while 'spitting' cobra (and closely related 'spitting' rinkals, Hemachatus haemachatus (Lácepède) of South Africa)

deliberately feigns death; similar habit burrowing vipers Genus Atractaspis.

Snake's normal blood temperature usually 1° F. higher than air; temperature conducive activity, air 70° F. to 90° F.; below 70° F. activity slows down and inclined lethargic, at 50° F. nearly helpless; at 40° F. barely signs of life; at 90° F. and over snake seeks cooler shelter or tropical dens to avoid intense heat.

Fig. 6. Pitman's revised edition of 1974 used an abbreviated style of writing: "'Staccato' style adopted throughout achieved enormous reduction superfluous words," according to his preface. As a result, he was able to cover 15 additional species even though the text was 70 pages shorter than the 1938 edition.

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# The Confiscation and Replacement of Herpetological Collections by France Under the First Republic and Empire,

### With Notes on an Historically Important Collection Sent to Vienna in 1815

PIOTR DASZKIEWICZ AND AARON M. BAUER

PD: USM Inventaire et suivi de la Biodiversité, Département Écologie et Gestion de la Biodiversité, Muséum National d'Histoire Naturelle, 57, Rue Cuvier 75005 Paris, France, piotrdas@mnhn.fr

AMB: Department of Biology, Villanova University, 800 Lancaster Avenue, Villanova, Pennsylvania 19085, USA, aaron.bauer@villanova.edu

#### Introduction

The confiscation of natural history collections during the French Revolution is relatively well-known. Initially the new authorities confiscated the goods of their political enemies and particularly those of emigrants and political prisoners<sup>1</sup>. The curiosity cabinets of aristocrats and the libraries of ecclesiastics were especially prized in this respect. This tradition was continued by first the Republican Army and later the Imperial Army under Napoleon, which acquired numerous collections of specimens in the countries occupied by France. Among the most well documented of these transferred collections are those confiscated in the Netherlands (the Stadhouder collection), several Italian collections, and the collection from Ajuda, Portugal. Following the Congress of Vienna (1815), France was obliged to return these collections to their countries of origin. Museum curators, however, frequently proposed to retain at least part of confiscated specimens and assembled replacement collections to be sent abroad ("Voulant procéder à cette opération d'une manière qui sera avantageuse pour les deux parties qui conciliait à la fois les droits de S.M. le rois des Pays-Bas aux intérêts de la Science, dans ses applications pour deux

Such exchanges of material, like the original transfers of specimens to France, constituted an important movement of natural history collections throughout Europe. In spite of the numerous publications relating to these transfers, their significance for the history of natural history in the late 18th and early 19th centuries has seldom been addressed. It is likewise the case that the important role of herpetological specimens in such movements of collections has gone largely unappreciated.

#### The Confiscation and Replacement of Herpetological Collections

Herpetological collections were among the first collections confiscated in France. Documents preserved in the *Archives Nationales* dealing with goods confiscated at the time are a rich source of information about the history of natural history collections. Among the confiscated collections were specimens of great scientific value as well as others that would qualify merely as curiosities.

A report of 24 July, 1794 on the goods confis-

pays nous avons formé pour S.M. le roi des Pays Bas une collection des objets ci d'aprés designés")<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> See for example: Décret de la Convention nationale du 10 octobre 1792 de l'an 1<sup>er</sup> de la République française, portant qu'il sera sursis à la vente des bibliothèques et autres objets scientifiques, trouvés dans les maisons des émigrés. Paris: Impr. Nationale exécutive du Louvre. 2 pp.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Manuscript dated 25 August 1815, Archives Nationales, Paris, Série AJ15-840. In this and subsequent quotations some minor spelling and grammatical errors appearing in the original documents have been corrected, but the original orthography has been maintained.

cated in the abbey and library of Saint Victor<sup>3</sup> mentions for example: "Trois peaux de serpens de differentes grandeurs, 2 empaillés et la troisième étendue (...) un crocodille d'environs 5 pieds de long empaillé (...) une carapace de tortue de mere, de trente pouces de long environs (...) une tête de grenouille pécheuse." The report also states that some specimens were in very bad state as a consequence of having been suspended for many years from the ceiling of the library. In Abbey of Saint Denis<sup>4</sup> (16 July 1793) among such curiosities as "a head of a tiger, a horn of a unicorn, weapons of savages, human skeletons, and a head of marine cow" were also "2 crocodilles, 2 lezards, 2 écailles de tortues." In the castle of Chantilly<sup>5</sup> the commissaire of the Republic found and confiscated : "20 lézards desséchés, parmi lesquels on voit des caméléons, deux jeunes caymans ou crocodiles et un lézard volant ou ailé; huit grenouilles préparées ou séchées, dont une forte grande, quatre tortues avec animal et onze tortues sans animaux, avec quelques pièces de leurs écailles ou carapaces séparées, 70 bocaux de diverses grandeurs, remplit d'esprit du vin contenant lézards, quelques tortues, des scorpions et des scolopendres (sic). 12 tubes ou bocaux longues ou étriés contenants dans de l'esprit du vin serpens. 41 bocaux, la plupart assez grands remplis d'esprit du vin et contenants divers serpens indigènes et étrangères parmi lesquels on remarque [des] serpens à lunette."

Undoubtedly the most important herpetological collections were brought to France from abroad thanks to the conquests of the Republican and later Imperial Army. Boyer (1971) analyzed the organization and actions of the special mission organized by the republican authorities in Belgium and Holland<sup>6</sup> to seek out and steal natural history collections. The most important of these was the Stadhouder collection belong-

ing to Willem V, Prince of Orange (1748-1806). Among the most important components of this collection were herpetological specimens obtained through auction from the cabinet of Albertus Seba (1665-1736; Bauer 2002). Bauchot and Daget (1996) and Thireau et al. (1998) have stressed the importance of the transfer of these collections. Although there exist no exact inventories of this collection it is known to have included many valuable herpetological specimens, including many that were figured in Seba's *Thesaurus* and served as the basis for Linnean type descriptions (Juriev 1981; Bauer 2002). This is further confirmed by the report of André Thouin (1747-1824), one of those charged with sending the confiscated specimens to Paris. The report, unpublished until now (although see Thireau et al. 1998 for excerpts), demonstrates that the herpetological part was particularly rich. This report also reveals that orders from Paris specified that herpetological specimens were among those most required and/or desired<sup>7</sup>:

Quadrupes ovipares – un trés grand nombre d'espèces et d'individus de tortues de mer, d'eau douce ou de terre, de crocodilles, de gavials, d'autres grands ou petits lézards, de lézards volans, de salamandres, de grenouilles, de crapauds et d'autres quadrupes ovipares dont les formes et même la plus grande partie des couleurs sont trés bien conservées. Plusieurs espèces non encore décrites presque toutes celles qui ont été l'objet de dissertation d'autres ouvrages trés recens de naturalistes étrangers les plus célèbres, espèces dont la conformation est la plus propre à fournir des comparaisons importantes pour les progrès de la physique animale, dont la plus part n'avoient pas encore été vues en France et dont on posséde qu'un trés petit nombre d'individus dans les divers cabinets étrangers. Un squelette de crocodille, trés precieux par sa grandeur, sa perfection et par consequance sa rareté, les voyageurs n'apportent presque jamais en Europe que la

<sup>3,4 &</sup>amp; 5 Archives Nationales, Paris, Série AJ15-836

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> The Stadhouder's cabinet was confiscated in 1795 when the French occupied the Netherlands. Uncataloged parts of the collection, including some of the specimens of Seba were overlooked, although the bulk of the material was taken to Paris (Boeseman 1970, 1997; Bauer 2002). S.J. Brugmans recovered some of the material in 1813, along

with some replacement specimens, although he encountered stiff resistance from Lamarck (Raat, 1976). This material arrived back in the Netherlands in 1815.

<sup>7 &</sup>quot;Note relative aux quadrupes ovipares, aux serpens et aux poissons de la collection du ci-devant Stadthouder" Archives Nationales, Paris, Série AJ15-836.

dépouille des individus un peu grands de cette énorme espèce de quadrupéde vivipare.

[An English translation (ours) may be rendered as: Oviparous quadrupeds - a great number of species and specimens of sea turtles, terrapins, tortoises, crocodiles, gavials, other large and small lizards, flying lizards, salamanders, frogs, toads and other, oviparous quadrupeds whose forms, and even for the most part, colors are very well preserved. Several species not yet described, nearly all of which have been the object of study in the very recent works of the most famous foreign naturalists, species whose form is most appropriate to provide important comparisons to contribute to the progress of the study of the animal body, the majority of which have not previously been seen in France and of which only a small number are held by the many foreign cabinets of natural history. A skeleton of crocodile, very valuable for its size and perfection and because of its rarity; travelers almost never bring to Europe anything but the skin of smallish individuals of this enormous species of viviparous quadruped.]

Serpens - Un grand nombre d'espéces de serpens, qui si elles n'ajoutent pas comme les espèces de quadrupédes ovipares de la collection ci-devant Stathouder, à la liste de celles dont Lacépède a traité dans la partie de l'histoire naturelle qu'il a déja publiée, interessent le plus les naturalistes par leur conformation ou par leur habitudes, ont été plus recement décrites par les auteurs, sont les plus rares dans les cabinets, et manquoient en partie aux galeries. Ces trois suites de quadrupes ovipares, de serpens, et de poissons réunies avec les suites analogues que le muséum de la république possedoit déja formeront sans aucune doute, la collection de ce, genre, la plus riche, la moins incomplete et la plus utile aux progrés de l'histoire naturelle et par consequant la plus digne de l'attention d'un grand peuple.

[An English translation (ours) may be rendered as: Snakes – a great number of species of snakes which, if they do not add (like the species of oviparous quadrupeds of the collection of the former Stathouder) to the list of those which Lacépède treated in the part of the natural history that he has already published, are interesting to naturalists because of their form or habits, have recently been described by authors, are rarest in

The collections sent to Paris from the Netherlands also included specimens of great paleoherpetological importance, most notably the original specimens of the celebrated marine reptile *Mosasaurus hoffmanni*, confiscated from Maastricht (Bardet and Jagt 1996).

The transfer of Portuguese collections is probably best studied and most well known (Geoffroy-Saint-Hilaire 1808; Geoffroy-Saint-Hilaire 1847; Hamy 1908; Almaça 1996; Bauchot et Daget 1996; Daszkiewicz 1999). Although the herpetological components were not as numerous or as important as those in the Stadhouder collection, they were, nevertheless, not inconsequential. "Catalogues des objets choisis parmi ceux des collections Ayuda destinés à être transportés à Paris et y servir à l'acroissement des collections du Muséum d'histoire naturelle<sup>8</sup>," indicate that 32 specimens of amphibians and reptiles, representing 25 species were confiscated.

In comparison to the Dutch and Portuguese cases, relatively little is known about the natural history collections confiscated in Austria, which sued for peace with France following defeat in battle in Wagram in July 1809. The Bibliothèque Centrale of the Muséum National d'Histoire Naturelle, Paris (MNHN) preserves a list<sup>9</sup> of 48 species of plants sent to Paris on September 13, 1809 from the Schönbrunn Garden on the order of Count Pierre Antoine Daru (1767-1829), general intendant of the French Army. Loisel (1912) wrote about the sending to Paris of "two Lapp horses and four kangaroos, which were

natural history cabinets, and are partly lacking from the museum galleries. These three groups, the oviparous quadrupeds, snakes, and fish, joined together with the comparable material of these groups already possessed by the museum of the republic, will form, without any doubt, the collection of its kind that will be the richest, most complete and most useful to the progress of the natural history and consequently the most worthy of the attention of a great people. ]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Archives Nationales, Paris, Série AJ15-840.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> Manuscript 1984/872. Bibliothèque Centrale MNHN. Paris.

then shown like a monument to the victory of the French army." Some authors also suppose that among the specimens originating from Vienna was the skeleton of the last known European bison from a locality other than Bialowieza (Sztolcman 1924), although the existing documents do not permit confirmation of this assumption (Daszkiewicz 2000). We know that the Austrian collections were kept relatively intact thanks to Johann Gottfried Bremser (1767-1827) who had a good relations with French naturalists and the occupying French administration. According to Sattman (2000) "In 1811, after two years as volunteer and three more years on a fellowship (Stipendiat), Bremser was officially appointed as curator of the collection, a good governmental position. The appointment was based not only on scientific merit but also on his activities during the occupation of Vienna by Napoleon's troops. It is said that Bremser, who spoke French well, used diplomacy and courage to save the collections from destruction and theft."

It should not be forgotten, however, that extant documents relating to transferred collections are very incomplete and that additional sources may remain unknown to researchers (see note below). It is also interesting to note that confiscated collections were sometime described as "gifts". These types of misrepresentations often make it difficult to precisely determine the origins of certain collections and documents.

[NOTE: The history of the herbarium of Albert von Haller (1708-1777) demonstrates the difficulty of finding information about the collections transferred to Paris during this period. Among the historical collections of the MNHN is an herbarium that since the 19<sup>th</sup> century has been attributed to Haller. The botanical analysis and historical research of Bonnet (1889) made it possible to confirm the name of the author and to outline the history of this famous collection. After having purchased the herbarium, Emperor Joseph II of Austria (1741-1790) offered the

<sup>10</sup> Myers (1964) outlined the theft by General Jean-Andoche Junot (1771-1813) and Etienne Geoffroy Sainte-Hilaire (1772-1844) in 1807 of the Royal Cabinet in Lisbon. Although Myers documented the fish in the collection, it is clear that reptiles were also returned to Paris to be worked up by Cuvier, who referred to the material as "gifts" from the Lisbon Museum.

bulk of the collection to the University of Padua, with some specimens going to the University of Milan. It was confiscated in 1796 by comissaires of the Republic and sent to Paris along with the manuscripts of Leonardo da Vinci (1452-1519), the books and the manuscripts of Albert von Haller, the herbal and paintings of Ulisse Aldrovandi (1522-1605), and the mineralogical collection of Lazaro Spallanzani (1729-1799). Bonnet was astonished to discover that this important shipment left no trace in inventory books. Although some of the stolen objects from Italy were returned to their owners after 1815, Bonnet suggested that the herbarium and books of Haller remained in Paris through the inaction of the Austrian Emperor Franz I (1768-1835), who, in contrast to other victims, did not make a claim for the return of collections that had left his country. It is possible that Haller's material was hidden or "lost in disorder," which would explain why only a few decades after its confiscation its origin had become uncertain.]

We also know little about the replacement collections sent in place of those originally confiscated, but it is certain that some of these collections hold an important place in the history of herpetology. Among 9988 specimens (also including 3499 molluses, 2225 minerals, 2225 mammals, and 267 birds) sent to Holland were 238 reptiles. In contrast, no reptiles (and practically nothing but geological specimens) were sent to Prussia or the Vatican after the Congress of Vienna<sup>12</sup>. Austria received 82 reptile specimens (in comparison to 28 mammals and 120 birds), thus constituting about 10% of the 822 natural history specimens sent from Paris (this figure does not include living plants given as a "gift" from Thouin to the imperial house of Austria in 1815).

#### An Historically Important Replacement Collection sent to Vienna

The replacement collections sent were never the the MNHN (pers. comm., Dr. Helmut Sattman) or some of the Portuguese manuscripts in the MNHN library (Daszkiewicz, 2002).

<sup>11</sup> For example, helminths from the Bremser collection in

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> Archives Nationales, Paris, Série AJ15-840.

object of discussion in France. Only the collection sent to the Netherlands was subsequently commented upon by naturalists of the time<sup>13</sup>. The replacement collection sent from Paris to Vienna has previously been mentioned only in passing by Fitzinger (1862), who reviewed the history of the Kaiserlich-Königliches Hof-Naturalien-Cabinetes zu Wien from 1792-1815. In 1815 Carl Franz Anton Ritter von Schreibers (1775-1852), then director of the Museum was despatched to Paris to arrange for the return of material taken by the French in 1809. In particular this included material from the library, gallery of paintings, and the coin and antique collections. Johann Natterer (1787-1853) was sent to actually pack the materials to be returned to Wien. Natterer and Bremser also used the opportunity to visit the many museums, private collections, and renowned scientists in Paris. Schreibers, according to Fitzinger (1862) arranged for the exchange of natural history material with the Paris museum and for the purchase of material from natural history dealers. According to Fitzinger, the shipment of exchanged material included 21 mammals, 122 birds and many reptiles and fish, as well as a large collection of diverse invertebrates.

In the most recent reviews of the history of the herpetological collections in Vienna, Tiedemann and Grillitsch (1997, 2001) made no mention of the removal or return of material by the French. Nonetheless, a document preserved in the *Archives Nationales*<sup>14</sup> "Objets remis à l'Autriche août à octobre 1815, Donnés à

S.M. l'Empereur d'Autriche en personne et à ses comissaires MM Schreibers et Bremser, naturalistes conservateurs du Muséum Imperiale d'Histoire Naturelle à Vienne" gives a detailed list of specimens sent to Vienna, among them 82 amphibians and reptiles. It seems likely that collection described represents a replacement collection in compensation for material confiscated during the French occupation, but in keeping with the etiquette of the time, this was not stated blatantly. Indeed the corresponding document from Vienna<sup>15</sup> lists the same 82 specimens as "aus dem königl.-naturhistorischen Museum zu Paris gegen Tausch erhalten" [received in exchange from the Royal Natural History Museum in Paris]. It is in Schreibers' hand and is signed by both Schreibers and Fitzinger, the latter signature having been added much later. It lists the same material as does the list in Paris, but in a somewhat different order (Table 1).

Most of the names correspond to those used by Daudin in his *Histoire Naturelle des Reptiles* (1801-1803). The most interesting and important components of the shipment were the Australian and other reptiles, particularly lizards, collected by François Péron (1775-1810) and Charles Alexandre Lesueur (1778-1846) on the voyage of the *Géographe* and *Naturaliste* (1800-1804) under the command of Nicolas Baudin (1754-1803).

Some of Péron's herpetological material was described by Lacepède, and Péron (1807)

Continued on p. 24...

<sup>13</sup> Bauchot and Daget (1996) (translation ours): "These objects of natural history, yielded by the Natural History Museum, were to enrich the collections of the Museum of Natural History of Leiden, created by a decree of the King of Holland on November 3, 1815. The author of an anonymous biography of [Sebald Justinus] Brugmans (1819) states that his subject must have been satisfied with the negotiations carried out with the professors of the Natural History Museum of Paris, who had allowed him to obtain a collection of worldwide scope... In a note published in 1825, after the death of Brugmans, C.J. Temminck (1778-1858) makes a much more critical assessment of his colleague and the role he played during the negotiations of 1815. Without implicating himself personally, he had indeed assisted with it, as he himself was in Paris at this time as officer in the allied armies of occupation... In brief, it reproaches Brugmans for having behaved like a "teacher" rather than a "researcher" in accepting a well classified collection to replace an unstudied collection, the scientific significance of which did not escape the professors of the Natural History Museum of Paris." A letter from Temminck to Cuvier on 11 July 1830 (Manuscript 252/78, Fonds Cuvier, Institut France, Paris) is also an interesting document about 19<sup>th</sup> century naturalists' knowledge and sentiments about "transferred collections." Temminck thanks Cuvier for the gift of a giraffe skeleton made by the Paris Museum to the Dutch Museum, less because of the nature of object itself than because it will help to dispel the memory among his compatriots of the confiscation of the skeleton of the giraffe of the Stadhouder, which remained in Paris.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> Archives Nationales, Paris, Série AJ15-840.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> Naturhistorisches Museum Wien, Reptilien-Sammlung 1815. VIII

**Table 1.** Herpetological specimens sent from Paris to Vienna in 1815. MNHN numbers are those from the copy of the list present in Paris. NMW numbers are those on the list in Vienna (which cross references the Paris numbers). Names and additional information (life stage [ad. = adult, jun. or pull. = juvenile or young] or provenance) are presented as they appear on the original lists. Information from the Paris list not present on the Vienna list is indicated in square brackets. Determination of current names has taken into account not only synonyms in the strict sense, but also the application and misapplication of names common in the early 19th century. Although the identity of some of the NMW specimens is known (see footnotes), most specimens have yet to be identified in the extant collections in Vienna. As a consequence, misidentifications by the original authors of the list may also be reflected in the current taxonomy presented here.

W.	4		
MIL	AMA	Name on Lists of 1815	Current Name
1.	1.	Chelonia imbricata ad.	Eretmochelys imbricata (Linnaeus, 1766)
2.	4.	Testudo indica adult	Geochelone indica (Schneider, 1783) <sup>a</sup>
3.	2.	Testudo geometrica d'Asie adult	Geochelone elegans (Schoepf, 1795)b
4.	3.	Testudo radiata de la Nouvelle Hollande jun.	Geochelone radiata (Shaw, 1802) <sup>c</sup>
5.	9.	Emys centrata ad.	Malaclemys terrapin centrata (Latreille, 1801)
6.	8.	Emys expansa ad.	Podocnemis expansa (Schweigger, 1812)
7.	6.	Emys tricarinata ad.	Kinosternon scorpioides (Linnaeus, 1766)
8.	7.	Emys planiceps ad.	Platemys platycephala (Schneider, 1792)
9.	5.	Emys pensylvanica ad.	Kinosternon subrubrum (Lacepède, 1788) <sup>d</sup>
10.	10.	Crocodilus acutus pull.	Crocodylus acutus Cuvier, 1807
11.	12.	Crocodilus palpebrosus pull.	Paleosuchus palpebrosus (Cuvier, 1807)
12.	11.	Crocodilus altera species pull.	Crocodylidae spp.
13.	28.	Tupinambis species indeterm. d'Egypte adult	Varanus niloticus (Linn., 1766) or V. griseus (Daudin, 1803)
14.	27.	Tupinambis ornatus pull.	Varanus niloticus (Linnaeus, 1766)
15.	29.	Lacerta Monitor ad.	Tupinambis teguixin (Linnaeus, 1758)
16.	30.	Lacerta Ameiva ? ad.	Ameiva ameiva (Linnaeus, 1758)
17. e	31.	Lacerta n. sp. voisin du Galonné d'Espagne pull.	? Acanthodactylus erythrurus (Schinz, 1834)
18.	22.	Draco timoriensis Var. cyanea adult	Draco timoriensis Kuhl, 1820f
19.	24.	Agama ocellatag ad. [Nouvelle Hollande]	identity unknown
20.	25.	Agama vulgarish ad. [Cuba]	identity inknown
21.	23.	Agama Jacksonensisi ad. [Nouvelle Hollande]	Amphibolurus muricatus (Shaw in White, 1790)
22.	26.	Stellio platurus de la nouv. Holl. jun.	Phyllurus platurus (Shaw in White, 1790) <sup>j</sup>
23.	20.	Camaeleo pusillus jun. [Cap Bonne Esperance]k	Bradypodion pumilum (Gmelin, 1789)
24.	19.	Camaeleo senegalensis adult	Chamaeleo senegalensis (Daudin, 1802)
25.	21.	Anolis roquet ou ambullaris de Martinique adult	Anolis roquet (Lacepède, 1788) <sup>d</sup>
26.	13.	Gecko platurus/Uroplatus adult	Uroplatus fimbriatus (Schneider, 1792)
27.	17.	Gecko vittatus de Sumatra adult	Gekko vittatus Houttuyn, 1782
28.	16.	Gecko cepedeanus de l'Ile de France ad.	Phelsuma cepediana (Milbert, 1812) <sup>1</sup>
29.	15.	Gecko ocellatus <sup>m</sup> jun.	Pachydactylus geitje (Sparrman, 1778)
30.	14.	Gecko doreensis <sup>n</sup> de la nouv. Holl. jun.	identity unknown
31.	18.	Gecko gelatinosusº de la nouv. Holl. Adult	identity unknown
32.	32.	Scincus officianalis ad.	Scincus scincus (Linnaeus, 1758)
33.	33.	Scincus ocellatus p de l'Isle Decrès ad.	Egernia whitii (Lacepède, 1804)
34.	34.	Tetradactylus n. sp. De l'Isle Decrès ad.	Hemiergis peronii (Gray, 1831) <sup>q</sup>
35.	34a.	—— —— jun.	Hemiergis peronii (Gray, 1831)
36.	35.	Tridactylus n. sp. De l'Isle Decrès adult	Hemiergis decresiensis (Cuvier, 1829) <sup>r</sup>
37.	38.	Chalcides propus [Chirote] de Mexique adult	Bipes canaliculatus (Lacepède, 1788) <sup>d</sup>
38.	36.	Chalcides pentadactylus ad.	Lygosoma quadrupes (Linnaeus, 1766)
39.	37.	Nicteropus <sup>8</sup> n. sp. (138 Peronii) adult [n° 138 de Peron et Lessueur, Nouvelle Hollande]	? Lerista bougainvillii (Gray, 1839)
40.	44.	Coluber plicatilis ad.	Pseudoeryx plicatilis (Linnaeus, 1758)
41.	43.	Coluber horridus ad. [Amerique]	Homalopsis buccata (Linnaeus, 1758)

MAILY HAVE		Table 1continued from the preceding page.				
MIL	MAN	Name on Lists of 1815	Current Name			
42.	49.	Coluber petalarius ad.	Oxyrhopus petola (Linnaeus, 1758)			
43.	56.	Coluber aesculapii ad.	Elaphe longissima (Laurenti, 1768)			
44.	60.	Coluber sibilans ad.	Psammophis sibilans (Linnaeus, 1758)			
45.	53.	Coluber taeniolatus ad.	Oligodon taeniolatus (Daudin, 1803)t			
46.	58.	Couleuvre vert et jaune <sup>u</sup> ad.	Coluber gemonensis Laurenti, 1768			
47.	63.	Coluber fulvius ad.	Micrurus fulvius (Linnaeus, 1766)			
48.	54.	Coluber scutatus pull.	Natrix natrix (Linnaeus, 1758)			
49.	47.	Coluber aulicus pull.	Lycodon aulicus (Linnaeus, 1758)			
50.	52.	Coluber crucifer ad. [Ile de France]	Psammophis crucifer (Daudin, 1803) <sup>v</sup>			
51.	51.	Coluber violaceus ad.	Liophis reginae (Linnaeus, 1758)			
52.	55.	Coluber viperinus pull.	Natrix maura (Linnaeus, 1758)			
53.	50.	Coluber rhombeatus j.	Psammophylax rhombeatus (Linnaeus, 1758)			
54.	45.	Coluber zeylanicus ad.	Siphlophis cervinus (Laurenti, 1768)			
55.	48.	Coluber Duberria jun.	Duberria lutrix (Linnaeus, 1758)			
56.	40.	Eryx Jaculus jun.	Eryx jaculus (Linnaeus, 1758)			
57.	46.	Eryx nebulatus ad.	Sibon nebulata (Linnaues, 1758)			
58.	41.	Boa Aboma pull.	Epicrates cenchria (Linnaeus, 1758)			
59.	42.	Boa elegans pull.	Corallus hortulanus (Linneaus, 1758)			
60.	42a.	Boa Merremii pull.	Corallus hortulanus (Linneaus, 1758)			
61.	62.	Platurus à bandes ad.	Laticauda laticaudata (Linnaeus, 1758)			
62.	59.	Bungarus filum." pull.	Dendrelaphis pictus (Gmelin, 1789)			
63.	39.	Typhlops lumbricalis de Java adult	Typhlops lumbricalis (Linnaeus, 1758)x			
64.	69.	Caecilia glutinosa d'Amerique ad.	Ichthyophis glutinosus (Linnaeus, 1758) <sup>y</sup>			
65.	68.	Trigonocephalus tigrée ad.	Bothrops lanceolatus (Bonnaterre, 1790)			
66.	61.	<i>Vipera Naja</i> ad.	?Naja naja (Linnaeus, 1758) <sup>z</sup>			
67.	57.	Vipera Naja ad. Var. [jun.]	?Naja naja (Linnaeus, 1758)			
68.	67.	Vipera lanceolata pull.	Bothrops lanceolatus (Bonnaterre, 1790)			
69.	65.	Vipera lactea ad.	Homoroselaps lacteus (Linnaeus, 1758)			
70.	66.	Vipera atrox ad.	Bothrops atrox (Linnaeus, 1758)			
71.	64.	Vipera Latonia pull.	Aspidelaps lubricus (Laurenti, 1768)			
72.	77.	Pipa lisse pull.	Xenopus laevis (Daudin, 1802)			
73.	74.	Bufo Agua pull.	Bufo marinus (Linnaeus, 1758)			
74.	73.	Bufo Calamita jun.	Bufo calamita Laurenti, 1768			
75.	75.	Bufo obstetricans a. ad. b. ova conglom.	Alytes obstetricans (Laurenti, 1768)			
76.	72.	Rana ocellata ad.	Leptodactylus ocellatus (Linnaeus, 1758)			
77.	76.	Rana punctata ad.	Pelodytes punctatus (Daudin, 1802)			
78.	76a.	Rana plicata ad.	Pelodytes punctatus (Daudin, 1802)			
79.	71.	Rana paradoxa Gyrinus	Pseudis paradoxa (Linnaeus, 1758)			
80.	70.	Hyla bufonoides <sup>aa</sup> de Port Jackson ad.	? Pseudophryne australis (Gray, 1835)			
81.	78.	Triton Gesneri ad.	Triturus marmoratus (Latreille, 1800)			
82.	79.	Triton palmipes ad.	Triturus helveticus (Razoumowsky, 1789)			

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>a</sup> An extinct species from the Mascarene Islands. The name has also been misapplied to specimens of giant tortoises from the Seychelles (Bour 1984), so the specific identity of the specimen listed remains in doubt.

to Australia (Nouvelle Hollande) is certainly in error as there are no Australian testudinids. It is possible that, like much of the material sent to Vienna, this specimen originated from the Baudin Expedition. Two other specimens of this species (MNHN 2016, 2016A) collected by Péron and Lesueur from "Le Cap" [Cape of Good Hope; sie!] are recorded by Roux-Estève (1979).

b The Linnean type of *Testudo geometricus* is referable to this species, not to the South African *Psammobates geometricus* (Linnaeus, 1758) (Wallin 1977). Daudin (1801) included both species in his concept of *T. geometricus*.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>c</sup> This species is endemic to Madagascar. The reference

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>d</sup> Authorship of this taxon has frequently been credited to Bonnaterre (1789). David et al. (2002) have demonstrated that authorship is correctly credited

**Table 1.** ...continued from the preceding page.

to Lacepède (1788).

- "The *lézard galonné* of Daudin (1802) is the boldly striped *Cnemidophorus lemniscatus* (Linnaeus, 1758). It is not possible to determine what Spanish lizard was sent to Vienna as "close to" *C. lemniscatus*, but we propose the striped juvenile of *A. erythrurus* as a likely candidate.
- f This species was not formally described until five years after this list was drawn up. Kuhl's (1820) description was based upon a manuscript name coined by Péron and in use in the Paris Museum at the time (Brygoo 1988). No type is now present in the MNHN collections (Brygoo 1988). It is probable that the specimen sent to Vienna was one of those collected by Péron and to the extent that Kuhl's use of the name was based on Péron's manuscript, the animal sent to Vienna should be a type of this taxon. The name *cyanea* appears never to have been used in a published description and appears to have been intended as a color descriptor rather than as a formal name.
- <sup>g</sup>We can find no published reference to this name, which may have been a manuscript name of Péron. The locality "Nouvelle Hollande" appears on the French list but not on the Austrian version. Specimens of *Pogona barbata, Ctenophorus decresii, Amphibolurus muricatus*, and *Tympanocryptis diemensis* from Baudin's voyage are all present in the MNHN collections (Roux-Estève 1979), and this specimen may be referable to one of these species.
- h The locality "Cuba" appears on the French list, but not the Austrian. It is unclear if the specimen is a pleurodont iguaninan from Cuba or if the locality is in error and the specimen is indeed an agamid.
- <sup>i</sup>Cogger et al. (1983) attributed the name Agama Jacksoniensis to Cloquet (1816), but subsequent authors have regarded this usage as a nomen nudum. Cogger et al. (1983) also designated a lectotype in the RMNH collection. Brygoo (1988) attributed the name to Kuhl (1820) and considered as types numerous specimens, including MNHN 6918, collected by Péron and Lesueur (although the two specimens catalogued under this number were not cited as types by Cogger et al. [1983] or Roux-Estève [1979]). The specimen sent to Vienna may be one of the paralectotypes associated with this name, although this requires further investigation. Our investigation demonstrates that Cogger et al. (1983) were correct in attributing the name to Cloquet. Although the species is illustrated (Reptile planche 14) in the plate volume of this work (Cloquet 1816b) without any description (itself constituting a valid description in a work of this age), there is a rather complete description in the accompanying text (Cloquet 1816a):
  - "L'Agame du Port-Jackson, Agama jacksoniensis.

- Caract. Queue deux fois plus longue que le corps; écailles du dos et de la face supérieure des members, saillantes, carénées; dos d'un brun noirâtre, avec des taches plus claires; ventre d'un gris jaunâtre; aucune apparence de crête sur le dos ou sur la queue.
- Cette espèce, non encore décrite. Et que nous avons fait figurer dans notre atlas, a été rapportée de la Nouvelle-Hollande par MM. Péron et Lesueur. Elle a environ un pied de longueur; la queue offrant à elle seule huit pouces d'étendue; elle est conique et très-affilée."
- <sup>j</sup> This species was cited as *Geckoides platurus* by Péron (1807) in his only published use of herpetological names. Roux-Estève (1979) did not cite any extant material of this species collected by Péron or Lesueur in the MNHN collection, but it would seem likely that the specimen sent to Vienna was collected on the Baudin Expedition.
- <sup>k</sup>The Baudin Expedition stopped at the Cape and MNHN 6644 is a specimen of this species collected there by Péron and Lesueur (Roux-Estève 1979). The Vienna specimen may also have been collected on the same voyage.
- <sup>1</sup>Authorship of this name has generally been attributed to Merrem (1820), however, Pasteur and Bour (1994) argued that it should be attributed to Milbert (1812). The use of the name "cepedeanus" in this list in 1815, five years before Merrem's use of the name, probably reflects the use of the name based on material received from Péron, who prepared, but did not publish, a formal description of the species (Pasteur and Bour 1994). Cuvier (1816) referred to the species, but only used the vernacular "Gecko cépédien." This specimen may be one of a series collected by Péron and still represented in the MNHN collection by two specimens (MNHN 6664; Roux-Estève 1979).
- The name *Gecko ocellatus* was first published by Cuvier (1816), but according to him was attributable to Oppel, apparently derived from a manuscript name. The specimens regarded by Brygoo (1991) as the types of this taxon, in fact, cannot be those upon which the name was based, as all were collected by Pierre-Antoine Delalande (1787-1823) who collected in the Cape [South Africa] from 1818 to 1821 after the publication of Cuvier's work.
- "This name was used as a nomen nudum by Péron (1807).

  Brygoo (1990) noted that no type material exists in Paris and Bauer and Henle (1994) considered it unlikely that the identity of the species could be determined. However, if the specimen sent to Vienna can be located, the issue may be clarified.
- This name was used as a nomen nudum by Fitzinger (1826), based on label name in use in the Paris Museum, almost certainly associated with specimens collected by Péron. Fitzinger (1843) subsequently

**Table 1.** ...continued from the preceding page.

- placed this name in the synonymy of *Hemidactylus leschenaultii*, but given the mismatch in provenance (*H. leschenaultii* is an Asian species) Bauer and Henle (1994) expressed doubt about the identity of this taxon.
- PThis name was first introduced in synonymy by Duméril and Bibron (1839) based on a Péron manuscript name. The locality is the "le Decrès [Kangaroo Island, South Australia]". Lacepède's types (MNHN 2988, two specimens fide Brygoo 1985) were collected by Péron and Lesueur. It is likely that the specimen sent to Vienna was also part of the original type series and it should be considered as a third syntype. Although the specimens catalogued as MNHN 2988 also constitute part of the type series of *Lygosoma moniligera* Duméril and Bibron, 1839 (Brygoo 1985; Cogger et al. 1983) the Vienna specimen is unlikely to be a type of this named taxon as the specimen had left Paris decades before the description was prepared.
- <sup>q</sup> Cuvier's (1829) description of Tetradactylus decresiensis was based on a Péron manuscript name and the syntypes include MNHN 3040, 7135 7136 and 7136A, all collected on Kangaroo Island by Péron and Lesueur (Roux-Estève 1979; Brygoo 1985). Cogger et al. (1983) also listed NMW 9961 (one of the two specimens of this species noted on this list) as a probable syntype. Tiedemann et al. (1994) also listed this specimen as the type of Seps peronii Fitzinger, 1826, regarded by Cogger et al. (1983) as a nomen nudum. We concur with Cogger and consider NMW 9961 as one of Péron's original specimens and, therefore, part of the type series of T. decresiensis. The valid name is attributed to Gray (1831) as Cuvier's usage is a secondary homonym of Tridactylus decresiensis when both are placed in Hemiergis.
- Cuvier's (1829) description of *Tridactylus decresiensis* was based on a Péron manuscript name and the syntypes include MNHN 1601 and 3041, collected on Kangaroo Island by Péron and Lesueur (Roux-Estève 1979; Brygoo 1985). Cogger et al. (1983) also listed NMW 16629 (the specimen noted on this list) as a probable syntype. Tiedemann et al. (1994) also listed this specimen as the type of *Zygnis decresiensis* Fitzinger, 1826. Fitzinger, although proposing the species as new himself, also credits the name to one in use in the Paris Museum. The name as used by Fitzinger is a *nomen nudum*. We concur with Cogger and consider NMW 16629 as one of Péron's original specimens and, therefore, part of the type series of *T. decresiensis*.
- 5 This name has never been published, however its placement among the reduced limbed skinks in both

- the Paris and Vienna lists hints at its identity. Roux-Estève (1979) listed material collected by Péron and Lesueur from Australia for only one reduced-limb skink other than *Hemiergis* spp., this being *Lerista bougainvillii*. The single specimen in Paris, MNHN 3016, served as the type of *Riopa bougainvillii* Gray, 1839. We suggest that this may be the identity of the specimen sent to Vienna. Further investigation of the NMW collection or of archival sources in Paris may clarify this matter.
- <sup>t</sup> This species name is uniformly credited to Jerdon (1853), however, the name was used much earlier by Daudin (1803). That the same species was intended is evident from the citation by both sources of the same plate in Russell (1796). Daudin's use of the name appears to have been overlooked by Duméril et al. (1854), Boulenger (1893-1896) and all subsequent authors. This case is discussed in more detail by Bauer (2003).
- "This is the *Coluber viridi-flavus* of Daudin (1803). The species is referred to the genus *Hierophis* Fitzinger by some authors (e.g., Schätti and Utiger 2001).
- This species does not occur in Mauritius (Ile de France), the locality associated with the specimen according to the Paris version of the list. The locality is probably in error as no snake in Mauritius is likely to be mistaken for the southern African P. crucifer.
- This name appears never to have been formally published, but Duméril et al. (1854) attribute it to Oppel and placed it in the synonymy of *Dendrophis picta*.
- \* This is a New World species, so minimally the locality of Java or the identification must be incorrect.
- y This is a species endemic to Sri Lanka, so minimally the locality of "Amerique" or the identification must be incorrect.
- These specimens are surely Naja sp., but their specific identity is uncertain as specimens attributed to Vipera naja by early workers are now referable to numerous Asian cobras.
- <sup>an</sup> This name has not appeared in the literature. The specimen referred to was probably one of those collected by Péron in Australia. Among those specimens collected by the Baudin Expedition that are extant in the MNHN, Roux-Estève (1979) lists only one toadlike anuran that is a likely candidate for this specimen, *Pseudophryne australis*, represented by two specimens under the number MNHN 5018 and collected at Port Jackson.

himself published nesoften in formation about the reptiles he encountered. Péron prepared descriptions of much of the rest of the material, but died before these could be published. Many of his names were subsequently first published by later workers, including Cuvier, Fitzinger, Kuhl, and Duméril and Bibron, who had access to his manuscript names and descriptions. An analysis of the list of specimens transferred to Vienna suggests that many of specimens (see accompanying footnotes) are likely to be types of taxa described on the basis of Péron's collections and manuscript notes. We plan to treat this question in more detail following tracing and examination of these specimens in the Naturhistorisches Museum Wien [NMW] (Bauer et al., in prep.).

In contrast to the lizards, most of the snakes sent from Paris were representatives of exotic species that were reasonably common in institutional and private collections by the mid-18<sup>th</sup> century. These included material from around the world, but particularly the Neotropics. Also included were a number of North American turtles and a few European specimens, among them the midwife toad, Alytes obstetricans, and several snakes including Elaphe longissima, Natrix maura, and Coluber gemonensis. Herpetological curiosities including Bipes caniliculatus, Uroplatus fimbriatus, and Pseudis paradoxa were also represented. Overall, the collection was broadly representative of major reptile groups and included a relatively high percentage of material that was rare for the time

Although the transfer of collections through sale or auction had long been common in Europe, and continued to be so throughout the 19<sup>th</sup> century (e.g., Lichtenstein 1823; Lichtenstein and von Martens 1856), the extensive movement of material between museums during and after the French Republican and Imperial periods initiated large scale institutional exchanges as a prime method of filling gaps in collections. Documents from the *Naturhistirisches Museum Wien* indicate an exchange of lists of disiderata between Vienna and Paris in 1824, and our respective investigations into the archival material

of the *Muséum National d'Histoire Naturelle* in Paris and the *Museum für Naturkunde* in Berlin reveal that such institutional exchanges continued the movement of material begun as a result of the political turmoil of the early 19<sup>th</sup> century.

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